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461 they had to leave the bridge to start moose hunting before the bulls began to run, no serious hunting was done before the bulling season was well advanced. The advisability and need of setting a fish net was once discussed for several days, but the net never got set and dogs continued to be fed on fast disappearing dog feed.

Ideally hard work persistence, and "rustling" are highly evaluated. Advice to a young man stresses the importance of early rising and of always doing something. One morning Old Man remarked: "Nitla sleeping yet. Maybe that's the reason he's got nothing . . . used to be Harry [Old Man's son-in-law] like that. Used to talk about his kid hungry. He tell me this time: 'You're right. What I'm gonna do? My kid hungry. How I'm gonna feed?' I tell him: 'You gotta rustle for yourself'." Yet neither Old Man nor Harry Lang gave any evidence of "rustling" during the period that observation was possible. The period of hard work and great drive was always being planned and was constantly imminent but never materialized.

Except when traveling, there is little tendency to begin necessary duties early in the day. Women generally get up before men and start the fire, although ideally a man should do this in very cold weather. If men get up first, they may start a fire and then hang around doing nothing until a woman wakes up and prepares breakfast. Women, usually having assistance from daughters, seldom spend more than a few hours a day doing housework. In Lower Post, where duties are even fewer, much time is spent by the family visiting or sitting around the various trading stores, meeting friends, and engaging in desultory conversation. Periods of strenuous work by men—housebuilding, hunting, and trapping—are always succeeded by several days devoted to relaxation. On the whole, the tenor of life appears unhurried, relaxed, and even-flowing.

CONCLUSION

182 The technical culture just described presents a picture of Kaska Indians' adaptation to the demands of their inner and outer environments. The exploitation of the game and fur resources of the Cassiar region may be regarded as the hub of this adaptive process. Game is directly consumed and so forms an important item in the native economy. Fur is briefly processed and exchanged for capital and consumer goods which the society requires to supplement environmental resources and domestic technology. This is a bald summary of the essential sequences constituting the adaptive routines. We now propose to evaluate the data presented in the preceding sections. The question we want to answer is: how successfully do the Kaska solve their adaptive problems?

The evidence leaves no doubt of the genius which Kaska society possesses for adapting to the exigencies of its northern environment. One of the most serious problems, securing protection against cold, has been so well beaten that almost never do we hear of serious frostbite. With the aid of proven devices, like the snowshoe and toboggan, travel remains unimpaired by the loose powdery snow. Winter travel and the efficient transportation of grub to the trap line are, of course, indispensable to the modern trapping economy. Obvious conveniences like the gun, steel traps, outboard motor, stove, and sleeping bag scarcely need having their adaptive utility stressed. In short, the Kaska are apparently well equipped technically and materially for carrying out behaviors that insure life and comfort. Yet when

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we examine the demographic data and view the amount of illness in the society we encounter situations in which adaptation is unsuccessful.

An inescapable conclusion is that Kaska society stands in a precariously balanced condition so far as its comfort and survival are concerned. The population was reduced by at least one-third within the last hundred years. During the period of study, the death rate probably equalled the birth rate, although effective means of birth control are not employed. The Kaska are not a healthy people. All of these facts are indicative of the threat faced by the society in solving the problems of survival. The society itself, however, cannot be held entirely accountable for failure to meet this threat. In the last hundred years the people have encountered many novel problems for which they were not prepared with traditional solutions. Illness, for example, probably increased after the Dease River and Klondike gold rushes. In confronting illness at the close of the nineteenth century, the people lacked even shamanism with which to fortify themselves psychologically against the menace of disease.[19] It would seem that as far as the high death rate and extensive morbidity are concerned, Kaska society is suffering the effects of culture contact. White diseases have taken their toll of the native population not only because the people were less resistant to disease (although their resistance leaves something to be desired), but also because once these illnesses were introduced, the Indians did not receive the same medical protection which reduces mortality in the white society.[20]

So far we have exonerated the society from failing to preserve the health and life of its members by pointing out that the strain of adaptation became considerably intensified following white contact. We will now consider some aspects of Indian motivation and behavior which, although ostensibly oriented toward survival, are actually contributing to discomfort and illness. The first of these is nutrition. At least during the winter, a majority of the society appears to suffer from inadequate caloric intake plus vitamin and mineral deficiencies. The consequences are seen in reduced energy and heightened susceptibility to disease. Malnutrition extends to children, in whom it may be seriously impairing physical and psychological development. The responsibility for undernourishment cannot be blamed upon a lack of education, since professional advice in food consumption, valuable as it may be, is after all limited to only a fraction of the world; nor can it be ascribed solely to acculturation. The causes for malnutrition appear to lie in the attitudes of the Kaska themselves as well as in conditions of acculturation. To dispose of the second point first, it seems likely that foreign penetration of the area within the last ten years (including the building of the Highway, airports, and the noise of aircraft) have resulted in a severe dislocation of game.[21] Such disturbances probably also followed influxes of gold seekers into the country and must be regarded as temporary. Currently, however, they appear responsible for the dearth of meat

[19] Honigmann, *Witch Fear in Post-Contact Kaska Society* (1947), 156.

[20] Macdonald, *Tribal Epidemics in the Yukon* (1945), cited, Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 28.

[21] Williams points out that "the noise of road building, including roar of machinery and blasting, has obviously driven wild life back from the Highway. With the quieter conditions of post-construction days, wild animals will doubtless return. . . ." Williams, *Geological Investigations Along the Alaska Highway from Fort Nelson, British Columbia, to Watson Lake, Yukon* (1944), 3.

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182 146 177 (which appears to be particularly severe in the Upper Liard region, which lies east of the Highway and along the air route), and for the consequent reduction of proteins and fat in the native diet.

182 146 511 Malnutrition, however, is also a consequence of the fact that people going into the bush in the fall are not in possession of sufficient purchased food for winter consumption. Grub often becomes exhausted before it can be replenished and for weeks adults and children are then forced to live on a diet of bannock or fatless bread, beans, fatless rabbits, and a little fruit. To understand the reason for such shortages requires an examination of the attitudes and behaviors with which the Kaska Indians approach the business of living. The gist of these factors reveals that the people are not able to insure the realization of their own ideal of an adequate standard of living. Little effort is made, for example, to secure more meat in the fall than is immediately consumed; hence there is no surplus which can be preserved for winter consumption. Such preservation would make grub stretch further and is, in fact, an ideal of the people. This observation is not made without being aware that resources of game have been disturbed by technological developments in the Cassiar. Admittedly that disturbance makes hunting more difficult and less rewarding. The fact is, however, that men tend not to hunt until a supply of meat is exhausted. Ideas of futurity, therefore, have little influence in determining hunting behavior. Trapping is similarly relatively little motivated by ideas of futurity. The long delays likely to ensue between visits to the trap line (delays which are ideally condemned by the people themselves), and the haphazard methods of trapping all result in an accumulation of fur too small to permit the supply of an adequate winter diet the following year. Furthermore, there is no realistic evaluation of the amount of food that will be required for winter consumption. Partly because of straitened circumstances and also for psychological reasons, which will be discussed in connection with the ethos of the society, people underestimate their needs and commonly forget important items of grub. Such neglect may lead to borrowing in the same or neighboring settlement, with the result that other families are quickly reduced to shortage.

182 511 As we have pointed out, few men buy their winter outfits for cash. The proceeds of the winter and spring fur sales quickly disappear to make up deficiencies occurring in the course of the winter bush life, to pay debts contracted the previous fall, and to live during the summer in Lower Post. People, therefore, live from hand-to-mouth, and if sickness enters the circle and disrupts winter trapping, severe disorganization must follow. Winter illness means the debt remains unpaid, additional credit is withheld or drastically reduced, and malnutrition with its evil consequences becomes intensified. A potential means of supplementing the winter's work *by* contracting *labor* to white men is neglected even by those men who do poorly in trapping and have most need for additional sources of income. The reasons for this reluctance to engage in wage work may be defined structurally (i.e., with reference to alternative or conflicting economic patterns) and psychologically. A structural explanation for the lack of interest in working for white men is to be found in the fact that another way of making a living, trapping, is readily available to the Indian. He can usually obtain a nominal amount of credit or otherwise secure (as, for example, by becoming an older man's helper) the minimal capital goods necessary for such independent production. Psychologically, as will be demonstrated in connection with Kaska ethos, the Indian prefers

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to be his own boss and for this reason trapping is more congenial to him than wage work. Furthermore the greater returns from trapping overshadow returns from contract labor.[2]

In large part, as we have indicated, the Indians have failed to solve novel or intensified problems which are concommitants of the penetration of the Kaska area by foreign agents. Partially, however, the failure to secure efficient adaptation is also an inevitable product of the Indian's system of motivation. No attempt can be made to assign any guilt for the conditions we have just described. The Kaska are no more to blame for their failure to provide themselves with adequate nutrition than the Canadian and American governments can be held responsible for disturbing the balance of game in the area. We have simply tried to define the efficiency of the Indian's system of maintaining health, life, and physical comfort in relation first, to the demands of the human organism and, second, to the resources of the external environment. We have done this with the assurance that the basic values of survival and comfort were shared by the Kaska themselves. Certain other implicit judgments, such as the need of self-exertion and planning in the pursuit of getting a living, are more immediately derived from the anthropologist's own society but are also ideally accepted by the Indians.

To sum up the conclusions drawn from the technical culture, we can say first, that the resources of the society—specifically, technological knowledge—are adequate for the task of adaptation to the traditional problems presented by the environment. Second, where problems have been introduced by culture contact, like the displacement of game and illness, the Indian possesses few aids for meeting their threats. Finally, the Indian has not learned to fit himself into the modern trapping economy and as a result suffers from malnutrition, which increases his susceptibility to disease.

[2] If we contrast Kaska society with our own, we find in the latter certain conditions supporting the system of wage labor which are completely unknown to the Indians. American society, for example, has made contract labor well nigh indispensable to survival. Without wages few people in our society possess the skills required to make a living. The loss of status resulting from joblessness is another factor maintaining the wage system in America. Unemployment, no matter how unavoidable it may be, results in placing the worker in an inferior social role with consequent loss of prestige. Finally, our society does not freely or easily provide opportunities for setting up independent production.

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stopping in Lower Post following employment with a government survey party. While the legally worded charge was being read the accused unthinkingly turned his back on the magistrate. For this he was sharply rebuked. Pleading guilty, the youth was questioned concerning the source of the liquor. He affirmed that soldiers had given him a bottle of rum. The magistrate sarcastically remarked that such generosity to Indians was difficult to understand, since most soldiers were themselves short of liquor. He then imposed a fine of fifteen dollars and costs, and adjourned court while the defendant, in company with the provincial policeman, went to friends trying to borrow the money. The boy came to the ethnographer's cabin and there found Daisy Joe, an Indian woman, whose common law husband was a white man. The policeman had recently caught this woman in the company of her husband carrying a gunny sack of beer. Now, suffering from severe toothache, she was uneasily waiting to see if her offense would also come to trial. When the boy asked Daisy (a nonrelative) for money, the policeman became suspicious and remarked: "Maybe that's where you bought the liquor!" This accusation was firmly denied by both parties as well as by Daisy's white husband.

Trials are conducted so as to be punitive as well as judicial. Several times we heard the magistrate making an attempt to frighten the Indians from drinking. There is no question but that the people are afraid of court proceedings, although they are never sufficiently intimidated to reveal the true sources from which liquor is secured. Thereby they protect their access to those sources. Most of the time court proceedings are conducted on a level of formality and a plain of experience quite foreign to the Indians. The efforts of the magistrate to command respect and proper courtroom demeanor are both pitiful and amusing.

Ingroup Relations

In this section, cooperative action and conflict within the Kaska nation as a whole is considered. In the section immediately following discussion will take up relations between Kaska and non-Kaska individuals.

It is in keeping with the atomistic character of Kaska society that cooperation within a tribe or within the nation as a whole should be unknown. No mechanisms for bringing about the unified functioning of these groups are available and group sentiment is transient and ephemeral. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the development of social policies has scarcely gained even a foothold in the group. About thirty-five years ago, under the direction of a white man, James Teit, the Kaska were involved in an attempt to further group interests by supporting a social ideology.[21] The movement was directed toward the preservation of the Indians' right to trap anywhere in the country without being confined to registered trap lines, which were at that time being introduced in British Columbia. As the first task of implementing this social policy, the Indians contributed money which was to be used to institute legal proceedings. Teit, however, is alleged to have absconded with the funds collected. At any rate, the policy met with no success. Even in this group movement, as reported by Old Man, we can detect the spirit of individualistic opportunism at work. "We're trapping Yukon side. White man tell us, 'Yukon trappers put up five dollars. B. C. trappers put up one hundred dollars.' They do that. Old Chief put up five hundred

[21] We have adopted this term from Kardiner who uses it to refer to "a system of ideas which seeks implementation by action to gain or preserve certain interests," Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 371.

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182 dollars. That's his kids. He's got maybe five kid. Each put up one hundred dollars. *He figger*
185 *he gonna take whole Hyland River.* Old Kean put up one hundred fifty dollars. My brother
224 put up ten dollars. They say from Lower Post three thousand dollars going." The imputed
156 motive of Old Chief (which we have italicized) is significant, since it points out the lack of ingroup solidarity and the self-centeredness of the individual. Old Chief received his designation from white men and should not be regarded as an executive whose legitimacy was derived from the native society.

185 Today only unorganized and diffused traces of social ideologies are encountered. All of
182 these emphasize better governmental care of the Indian and consist mainly of pleas and complaints which never achieve a stage where they are implemented by action. Interest was shown toward a Canadian Commonwealth Federation (C. C. F.) organizer who came to Lower Post in 1945. Old Man, who heard of the man indirectly from John Kean, spoke approvingly of the "new government" and thought it would "do something" for the Indian.

571 Interpersonal antagonism characterizes most of the relations of men in the area and is
521 even the most prominent feature of interpersonal relations within a tribal district. Despite
157 the ideal attitude commanding a person to mind his own business, the common expression of this latent hostility is through malicious gossip and backbiting. Such expression, however, is confined to good friends and older men who are not apt to carry the calumnies back to the subjects. Young men and most women show a strong and consistent reluctance to gossip or criticize, and it is only in an unguarded moment or during intoxication that their feelings are permitted escape. The careful control on the expression of hostility is related to the Kaska Indian's great fear of giving offense to people and thereby damaging his own reputation. Old Man illustrated this tactfulness abundantly. He felt that Old Lady Metla had to be given a good funeral for fear of otherwise offending her daughter, Lady Suza. Following the death of her mother the latter was received in Old Man's house as a temporary accommodation, but the old man soon regretted his action as he began to perceive that Lady Suza and her youngest son, Donald, were depleting his stock of grub. He was extremely reluctant however, to take any action that would give offense. Instead he complained to the ethnographer of his guests' eating habits and criticized young Donald's laziness. A large part of his resentment was expressed in the socially permitted form of tormenting the latter youth for his indifferent work habits.

578 The hypocrisy between even good friends is striking. Old Kean and Old Man had spent
571 a sociable evening drinking brew together and complimenting each other. Two days later
572 Old Kean criticized Old Man bitterly. He accused the latter of illegally trapping on both
157 sides of the Liard River, affirming that the other man had no right to cross the stream. Then he alluded to Old Man's long association with white men and implied that Old Man was beginning to think of himself as a white man. He ended up by branding his friend as "full of bullshit," that is, a liar. A few days later Old Kean aired his resentment of River Joe, whom he accused of trying to be the boss of the whole country. He fancifully threatened to put River Joe in jail.

Similar attitudes prevailed in the relationship of Old Man and River Joe. Together the two always appeared to be good friends, but behind the other's back Old Man was tirelessly

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765 few people braved the autumn rains to go the ten miles. Ideally, about one year after a
764 person's death, a memorial potlatch should be celebrated by the members of the moiety to which the deceased belonged. The deceased is remembered for about two generations.

CONCLUSIONS

182 In this section we propose to evaluate the manner in which the Kaska secure their goal of interpersonal adjustment. In contrast to the technical culture, where the effectiveness of behavior was judged by the maintenance of life and human efficiency in the physical environment, a sharply defined comparable statement for the social culture is not easy to formulate. Tentatively it may be suggested that the adjustive behaviors of any society can be evaluated from their operation in imposing adequate control on the expression of interpersonal hostility (deference), keeping at a minimum seriously conflicting attitudes and behaviors (consistency),[41] and insuring sufficient morale to keep the members of the group together and satisfied (stability). It also seems impossible to consider adjustment without some reference to the goals of adaptation, whose achievement is influenced by various aspects of the social culture.

Before going on to examine how well the Kaska manage to meet these minimum standards of adjustment, we will briefly review the over-all quality of Kaska social structure and interpersonal relationships. Kaska social culture may be understood once it is realized that the Indians conceive of interpersonal adjustment atomistically, that is, as lying in the avoidance of as many intense and close human relationships as possible. Somewhat paradoxically (at least from a western point of view), it may be said that the Kaska pattern interpersonal adjustment in terms of interpersonal avoidance or, at least, restraint. In social life this note is correlated with an absence of rigid social organization and of devices for securing wide group identification, cooperation, and unity. The pattern is reflected in the kinship system which, as was pointed out, is not important in regulating interpersonal behavior far beyond the nuclear family. Beyond the household, interpersonal relations tend to occur between individuals rather than between relatives whose statuses and roles are symbolically, sharply defined. Such a kinship structure is consistent with a society in which the frequency of social interaction is low for the greater part of the year. If, however, unrelated persons do enter close association with ego, kinship terms are usually quickly applied in order that, one infers, ego may more assuredly anticipate the results of his behavior on another as well as the nature of the behavior to which he will in turn be subject. The social atomism of Kaska life is further revealed in the relative unimportance of the moiety and is also connoted by the nature of the marriage contract, which primarily involves only two, or at the most three, people. Since marriage is not important for joining family groups, we find no tendency to elaborate the event; in fact, no crises points in the life cycle are ceremonially elaborated. One of the functions of ceremonial elaboration would seem to be the subordination of the individual's role in an event to the social group whose symbolically expressed recognition is regarded as essential. In Kaska society little note is taken of transitions made along the life gradient. Finally we may consider the demonstration of atomism by the absence of

[41] Benedict has stressed continuity between points of the life cycle but we are now extending such consistency to other aspects of social life. See Benedict, *Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning* (1938).

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conflict rarely becomes overtly expressed. As indicated, most people share food with only covert resentment, which, however, is not successfully hidden in interpersonal relations (perhaps because such resentment is expected). People are also reluctant to make excessive demands for assistance, and this serves to reduce the situation's inherent disharmony. When the conflict occurs, the expression of resentment is further suppressed in accordance with the strong attitudes directed against quarreling and other forms of aggression. Antagonisms growing out of property conflicts do lead to gossiping, the results of which soon become known to the subjects. One consequence of calumny is to contribute to the reinforcement of the primary individualistic quality of social relations and the weak development of in-group feeling. This consequence, however, is again congruent with the expected character of social life.[42] Another consequence of calumny is the building up of latent hostility which, while avoiding interpersonal violence, leads to feelings of insecurity and being disliked. In the discussion of Kaska ethos we will examine these feelings at greater length and point out their significance for *personal* adjustment.[43] Here we may conclude that property introduces conflicts in interpersonal relations which are handled in so restrained a manner that they do not violently disrupt social life. In other words, inconsistency in the sphere of property relations does not necessarily imperil deference except during intoxication when, as among the Navaho, aggression is readily forgiven.[44]

To a lesser extent occasional failure to furnish cooperation is another conflict point in Kaska society and one which, when it occurs is susceptible to an analysis closely similar to that offered for property. In fact if we were to substitute the cumbersome term "social sharing of goods and services" in the discussion of property, and make a few other revisions in what has been said, we would be able to cover both property and cooperation in the same discussion.

To digress for a moment, the persistence of the potlatch seems significant in this setting of conflicting property values and minimal cooperation. In that festival, money is often contributed by a group of moiety members who extend beyond kinship ties and the tribal group. Apparently the occasion offers satisfaction in overcoming the reluctance to share, and provides a formal means of demonstrating a degree of generosity which, because it takes place in summer—a time of plenty—is not economically threatening. The pleasure in potlatching is reciprocal; the hosts' moiety derives satisfaction in preparing and serving a relatively lavish meal, while the guests enjoy the bountiful food and gifts which are so unequivocally offered. Since not all contributors can serve in the distribution (the organizer's family seems to derive the greatest prestige), we can understand the desire at the first potlatch in 1944 to let both sides eat, that is, to participate directly in the more intense emotional aspects of the feast. Unfortunately this aroused criticism, exactly why or in what quarters (whether in the hosts' or guests' moiety) we are not certain.

[42] But may not be congruent to the personal needs of the Kaska as human beings.

[43] Obviously adaptive and adjustive conflicts may also affect personal adjustment. At this point, however, we are trying to focus mainly on the structural aspects of adjustment between people and omit all extended consideration of psychological adjustment which we will have abundant opportunity to study in connection with the dominant motivations that underlie the structural picture here being delineated.

[44] Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft* (1944), 54.

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182 Old age and illness may be regarded as stress points in interpersonal relations, although the conflict is primarily a personal one, the individual experiencing his declining or debilitated capacities as heralding loss of prestige. It is consistent with atomistic living that the old should receive no preferential treatment or compensations in the way of being looked to as social or spiritual leaders. Temporary illness often promotes a degree of intrafamily cooperation but the amount is not sufficient to offset the loss of the patient's productive efforts and the same conclusion may be drawn with regard to old age. From this we can see how essential are the energies of each member of the group for survival and how limited any possibilities for cooperation. The burden of personal responsibility is tremendous in Kaska society and accidents interfering with its fulfillment costly in terms of comfortable living.

This responsibility is related to one of the most important inconsistencies in Kaska life. As already pointed out in the conclusions to the technical culture, individuals, particularly men, are unable to fulfill adequately the requirements of their economic roles. The Indian is not able to direct his energies in hunting and trapping toward his own ideals of what constitutes an adequate standard of living. In the description of Kaska ethos and its development we will discuss the personal maladjustment resulting from those aspects of the boy's socialization which fail to prepare him to maintain economic initiative. Here it may be said that certain personality trends associated with the effects of emotional rejection interfere with the mustering of more than minimal effort. Such extra striving is required by contemporary conditions of life, particularly so when an individual, due to some emergency, must provide for others beside himself. Failure to be endowed with the necessary initiative to overcome such crises interferes not only with the solution of adaptive problems but also complicates interpersonal relations between a father-in-law and son-in-law and intensifies the social conflicts of old age and illness. A father-*in*-law becomes dissatisfied with a youth who does not meet the *ideal* standards of initiative (for which the boy was not prepared) while the aged and ill must face the prospects of debt and poorer living because they cannot unload their responsibilities on a young man. Apart from the failure to inculcate the ability to carry through economic responsibility, parent-child relations further complicate a youth's eventual social role by forcing him to acquire a fear of the bush which must later be unlearned.

Relatively minor inconsistencies appear between the postponement of the age of marriage and resultant parent-child conflicts promoted by girls' excessive premarital sexuality. Little social conflict appears in the sphere of sexual relations. There is, for example, no hiatus between marriage and "normal" premarital sexual experience. Men are not reluctant to marry nonvirgins, although they may balk at marrying girls who have a reputation for promiscuity. In marital sexuality, the forms of permissive extramarital sex relations (which seem likely to make their manifestation where individuals are in close interaction) probably contribute to the reduction of socially disruptive adultery. In Lower Post, however, the size of the community and the presence of strangers does not always make it possible for a husband to anticipate when a relationship may lead to adultery, or else he finds it difficult to act unembarrassedly on such an anticipation. The result is that he sometimes fails to counteract effectively the threat of adultery with wife lending or wive exchange. In the smaller settlements such a safeguard is probably often effective in reducing marital conflict. Although adultery may imperil deference in the family, it does not lead to an

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expression of hostility against the wife's lover and there is no evidence of a woman actually fighting her husband's mistress, even though this threat is feared.

As far as the stability of the society is concerned, the atomism characterizing social relations is related to the fact that there is little discrimination directed toward groups like *métis* or bastards. Foreigners, particularly the Tahltan, are warmly disliked and differentially treated but are, of course, by definition not members of the in group. This raises the significant point that the stability of Kaska society cannot be accredited to the mutual identification of the group's members, since even within a tribe the degree of such identification is slight. Rather we must explain Kaska morale atomistically as resting on the feeling that life in the group is congenial for the individual because it offers him an adequate opportunity to carry on interpersonal relations in the manner for which his personality has been conditioned. The satisfactions afforded by the technical culture, despite the fact that they have been importantly modified by acculturation, are still congruent with the patterns of interpersonal adjustment demanded as a consequence of the socialization process. Such satisfactions, therefore, are subjectively greater than any that would be afforded by life outside the society. Boys who have spent a brief term in boarding school may enjoy the stimulation of outside places, but apparently they are not attracted to the forms of interpersonal organization present in the white society. Thus they are not attracted to the employer-employee relationship even as this occurs in Lower Post. Nevertheless, it may be suggested that the hiatus between the increased responsibilities introduced with contemporary economic life, the increased effort that must be invested in trapping, and the ideas of futurity which are demanded as part of the trapping economy all contrive to undermine some portion of the Indians' morale. This is especially true because of the fact that socialization procedures have not become modified to fit the individual for participation in the new technical culture that is evolving. How effectively this discontinuity will be solved is a question for future research.

Another important threat to morale comes from the activities of the government agents whose behavior is totally at variance with the key forces of the social structure. Authority, direction, and supervision are producing considerable uneasiness in the Indians since effective flight is difficult. Significantly, in 1945, a number of men promised that the following year they would not spend the summer in Lower Post but would camp near the Highway crossing or on the east bank of the Dease River out of reach of the police.

Summing up, Kaska social behavior and attitudes may be described as adequately providing for the maintenance of deferent human relationships within the group, although certain inconsistent points, particularly in the spheres of property and personality development, introduce stresses in interpersonal relations. Despite these stresses and, in some cases, because of their deferent handling, conflicts within the group are not so severe as to promote instability, although the pressure of an organized authoritarian white society is considerably lowering morale by undermining the satisfactions which the Kaska have been accustomed to find in their atomistic social setting.

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IDEATIONAL CULTURE

THE third major division of Kaska culture is built principally around the ideas and attitudes which the Indians direct toward the supernatural, natural, and social environments. These ideas, in many cases underlying behaviors described in the technical and social cultures, serve both adaptive and adjustive functions but in addition fulfill the important need of securing the individual's personal adjustment toward his known universe. Through these thought patterns the Indian strives to understand his experience.

In this division we will describe beliefs ranging from the fields of religion to natural history and human biology. We will discuss behaviors toward the supernatural environment and present activities illustrating the motivating role of other ideas. An attempt will also be made to understand the patterned, conscious and unconscious, thought and emotional processes of the people, and to outline the breakdown of rational control which occurs in some Indians when under the influence of alcohol or in mental disease.

NUMBERS AND MEASURES

Although the western system of numeration has been universally adopted in the Kaska area, few individuals are capable of extending such reckoning beyond one hundred. Arithmetical calculations are limited to simple mental addition and subtraction. No ritual or symbolic significance of numbers could be obtained.

The standard English system of weights and measures is in use, but the ability to understand these is not evenly developed. Most men have a fairly clear conception of mass measures, such as pounds, but a much more limited comprehension of length. When traveling along the crooked courses of rivers, Indians often refer to distance in terms of the number of points of land that must be rounded rather than the mileage that remains to be covered. There is keen interest in translating the distance between two known locales into miles but individual estimates are often widely at variance. White men are regarded as authoritative sources of such information, the ethnographer's maps being several times utilized in order to measure the distance from Lower Post to individuals' trap lines. Volume measures are also difficult for people to estimate, especially if a container is larger than five gallons.

In sewing the method of measurement is to compare the material to the span of the hand or the length of the arm. Rules, measuring rods, and squares are not used in carpentry or sewing.

Most Indians own clocks and pocket or wrist watches. These, however, are not primarily used to order time since most people are unable to read the dials and the measurement of time, like other measures, is only gradually being learned. Disagreement between time pieces is often considerable, especially in winter when, if a clock stops and there is no radio, the owner is only poorly able to guess at what hour to reset the instrument. The confusion resulting from Lower Post being on the boundary of two time zones is also partly responsible for the discrepancy between time pieces in summer. Individuals are not governed by time in the performance of customary activities.

By means of journals or by marking off the passage of days on a small calendar, an effort

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and for pain near the heart. A cup or two of the stems of the soapberry plant boiled in water provides a cathartic. For a skin irritation on the back of her knees, Elsie Lang was advised by her grandmother, Mrs. Man, to apply a poultice made of fresh or dried boiled fireweed. Two handfuls of willow buds boiled with a pint of water for about twenty minutes in a discarded food tin (the buds discolor metal when boiled) make a medicine that will cure cold. Doses should be taken at regular intervals. A willow-like plant, known as "moose brush" and growing along the upper reaches of Dease River, is highly regarded for its medicinal efficacy. The stems of the plant are boiled for several hours and the effusion drunk for chest pain and cough. The solution may also be used for washing sore eyes. Stems are kept for reuse, but are discarded after several boilings.

The inhalation of the fumes of dog urine is a popular remedy for cold. A person watches for a place where dogs urinate and collects the soaked wood or brush to use in creating a smudge. People walk back and forth through the fumes, breathing them. This treatment is also thought to be effective in preventing cold. When Louis Maza's baby showed a swollen neck, the father suggested an "old fashioned" remedy. A hot rock, heated in the oven and wrapped in a towel, was applied to the sore area. Exercise is sometimes recommended for therapy. Following a long period of illness from cough and cold, Old Man set out on a five mile walk, planning to fish upon arrival at his destination. "I figger if my blood work, I'm all right."

CONCLUSIONS

It is not likely that any analysis of Kaska ideational culture made with reference to the criteria of adaptive and adjustive efficiency will reward us with greater insight than we have already derived. As a matter of fact, although many of the ideas which we have just discussed may potentially be of great utility in making a living, their value depends upon their behavioral application; to discuss the manner in which the Kaska apply their empirical knowledge, for example, would require repetition of much that we have already said concerning the Indians' style of life.

Therefore, in concluding the description of Kaska culture, we shall be content with briefly sketching the structural relationship of a few aspects of ideational to technical and social behaviors. The ideal virtues of men and women, for example, are clarified when the industriousness and skill ideally expected of the man are considered alongside the nature of the male's economic routines and their significance for survival. The Indians are aware of the necessity for hard work in the business of getting a living but do not practice as much as they believe. The economic importance of a woman's industriousness is also revealed in the ethical standards, indicating how important feminine labor is seen to be in conjunction with the man's economic role. Despite men's statements that they can live independently, both sexes are clearly expected to supplement one another, as they actually do. From another point of view, the relative simplicity and unelaboration of ideational material may itself be regarded as functionally related to the primacy of the food quest in the life of the society. Intensive speculation, whether religious or empirical, requires sufficient leisure for at least part of a society plus an intellectual tradition on which to build. Both these conditions are lacking for the people of the Cassiar. Even the sexual life is influenced by the economic pat-

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182 tern requiring long isolation in the bush under crowded states, which because of the private phrasing of sexual matters, are relatively unsuitable for the union of men and women. Therefore we see a higher rate of conception occurring in summer, after the total community has assembled and when climate facilitates finding privacy.[18]

182 Kaska parents rationalize their desire for children principally in terms of the child's po-
842 tential economic contribution to family cooperation. Children are wanted because it is ex-
811 pected that they will grow up as staffs upon which parents will find support. This ideal expectation of a child's eventual role is, as we have already indicated, generally doomed to disappointment. Although adolescents make important contributions to family economy, they do not, as adults, provide sources of gratification on which the tired, old, or sick parents may rely with any assurance. The rationalized desire for children, therefore, turns out to be a weak one and it is to be expected that people with the empirical ability of the Kaska should have learned how little they can depend on grown offspring. Assuming that social awareness of the child's increasing disregard of parental wellbeing exists, we find, as a result, an absence of any extraordinarily compelling economic or social motives for reproduction, which in turn is compatible with the desire of some young women to limit their fertility. Contraception, in other words, denies the adult society of no important potential rewards or obligations and hence meets with no disapproval. Other unconscious attitudes associated with the desire to avoid progeny, related to the female pattern of masculine striving outlined in connection with the status of women, will be further explored in the following division of this report. It may also be noted that the native theory of procreation, which derives the offspring from a double mixture of blood, the father's and mother's, and thus implicitly notices the male's role in forming the embryo and fetus, is compatible with the manifest
[611] bilateral emphasis of family life in which neither parent is singled out as most important. Such bilaterality is more manifested in Kaska society than the fiction of matrilineal descent.[19]

182 Finally, attention may be directed to the relationship of the Kaska's blocked emotional-
157 ity, as revealed in behavior in the Rorschach situation, and the atomistic social structure of the society in which interpersonal adjustment is typically sought by what has been described as an avoidance of social interaction. Significant in this regard is the contrast between the normally unexpressive life of the Indian and the explosive outbursts that sometimes occur with intoxication and in mental disease. It seems likely that the latter phenomena follow an involuntary release of strong inhibitory mechanisms. In this discussion of emotion we are already approaching the sphere of Kaska ethos, to which we will now give extended attention.

[18] [illegible] Mumford's picture of medieval Europe with the awakening of sex coming in spring. "... the late medieval astrological calendars, which depict this awakening, show the lovers having intercourse in the open with their clothes on. ... For lovers in the medieval house the winter months must have been a large wet blanket." Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (1938), 41.

[19] According to Richards: "By dogma of descent I mean ... those theories of procreation which express a people's beliefs as to the physical contribution of the father and mother to the formation of the child." Citing the attention which Malinowski and Rattray in their field work had previously paid to this theory, she points out that a society's dogma of descent often correlates with social structure. Richards, *The Political System of the Bemba Tribe—North-Eastern Rhodesia* (1940), 96; see also Evans-Pritchard, *Heredity and Gestation, as the Azande See Them* (1932), 405; Ford, *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction* (1945), 44.

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Upper Liard

shame for both the woman and her family. A husband did not challenge his wife's lover but a woman who knew of her husband's infidelity attacked the other woman both verbally and physically. Folktales, such as the one describing a jealous husband cutting off an adulterous woman's leg below the thigh, highlighted the seriousness of the offense. Mention of a chastity belt crops up in an anecdote which the informant did not believe to be true. It concerns a husband who prior to leaving for a hunt secured a rawhide line between his wife's legs to prevent her from having sexual relations during his absence.

Treason met with no punishment except that a traitor was not allowed to fight the enemy. He could, however, pack for the military expedition.

Violation of food and other avoidances did not so much result in the application of direct punishment as they led to fear of magical retribution. Reasoned arguments following from culturally standardized premises dissuaded people from breaking these taboos, and hence exemplify a particular type of social pressure.[28] Fear of punishment by ghosts for injuries done to people in their lives also represents a sentiment limiting conduct.[29]

In summary we can say that socially approved punishment in pre-contact Kaska life consisted chiefly of unfavorable public opinion, exile, fines, and blood revenge. The latter two sanctions were reserved for offenses against life. Nobody explicitly enjoyed the power to impose punishment on behalf of the total community. Hence most social pressure was informal or individualized. It should be clear that negative pressures did not exhaust the techniques for maintaining equilibrium in the social system. Potlatching, affinal ties, games, and minor rituals undoubtedly played their parts in preserving harmonious social relations.

War represented group retaliation for offenses committed by relative strangers upon members of the community. Since military revenge in turn promoted the desire for fresh vengeance on the opposite side antagonism between the Upper Liard Kaska and their neighbors tended to be chronic. The prevalent state of intertribal mistrust is well illustrated in the discomfort and frank suspicion aroused by any stranger. The Nakani and Nahani complexes, with their initial bound form indicating "enemy" or "hostile," reflect these states of anxiety and hostility. Informants refused to regard the Nakani as supernatural but applied the term to Indians with whom the Kaska had little contact, that is, "strange" Indians who raided people and stole women. The term Nakani applied particularly to the Cree (teciina, a word deriving from the root for "tree") who hid in the bush with rifles waiting for an opportunity to abduct women.

Fighting occurred between the Upper Liard Indians and the people of Teslin Lake (probably the Taku), Pelly River, Espatotena, and, of course, the Cree Indians. Warfare with the Tahltan was denied by one man (O), who stated that prior to contact the Kaska had traded with the Tahltan, so how could they have fought as enemies? His argument holds only for the relatively recent prehistoric period. It is not applicable to an earlier period, when the Tahltan were not yet middlemen in the trade originating west of the

[28] Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (1945), 53–55. For further information about avoidances see below, pp. 106–110.

[29] See below, pp. 136–137.

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The pattern that emerges from these reports may be briefly summarized. A serious illness would overtake some member of one of the small semi-nomadic bands. An effort was made to explain the illness in terms of bewitchment and generally some child or youth of either sex was fixed upon as the guilty party. Often the child confessed to the crime which he did not understand. "Kid not smart," Sam Bob explained. "You talk to kid, 'You witch?' Maybe say, 'Yes.' That kid big, he wouldn't speak a word." Sometimes the confessed witch was killed or else he might starve to death. If the suspect refused to admit his guilt he was tortured until he confessed. The commonest means of torture seems to have been by tying up the suspected individual, sometimes hanging him up by the heels and starving him. The remarkable thing that comes out of the data is that the captivity and torture were often undertaken by a member of the suspect's family, again either a man or a woman. A mature person often sought to escape the charge of bewitchment by leveling suspicion on a child. During periods when witch-fear was prevalent people were afraid of being accused of the deed and of having guilt placed on their children. Mutual suspicion was rife and people watched their children carefully.

From this synthetic reconstruction it is clear that the Kaska's belief in witchcraft is best described as witch-fear, since there is no evidence of any Indian ever actually practicing witchcraft nor were the forms of such behavior apparently even ideally patterned in great detail. Thus witch-fear for the Kaska may be defined as an attempt to fix blame for malignancy upon one person for some definite injury to another. Certain other features of Kaska witch-fear may be pointed out. Very often it was not the supposed victim who sought to fix this blame but his relatives and friends. Furthermore all suspicion of witchcraft was localized within the community and often within the family. Blame did not depend upon any previous expression of enmity between victim and witch, for frequently suspicion fell on a child who could not easily have originated or been the subject of such hostility. Finally there was no elaboration of techniques for countering the attack of witchcraft. Shamanism had practically disappeared from the society and oracles were not consulted to determine witches. The sole remedy appeared to lie in securing the confession of the witch and/or bringing about his death. It therefore follows that witchcraft was not a commonplace or "normal" phenomenon in Kaska society as it is, or was, among the African Azande or California Yokuts and Western Mono.[11]

Although Dan, Jimmy, and Clem Loots are still living in Lower Post, efforts to persuade them to talk about witch-fear or witchcraft were unsuccessful. A number of other informants expressed impatience when questioned about this behavior and pointed out that they knew nothing of witches. They

[11] Evans-Pritchard, 1937; Gayton, 1930, p. 409.

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754 177 graphic work with the Tahltan and other Pacific-drainage Athapaskan groups.

In view of the statements that the practice of witch hunting was absent in aboriginal Kaska society it may be expected that this attitude appeared in the area between 1820 and 1900. A survey of the historical background has already revealed two great movements of white people up the Stikine waterway, one starting in 1872 and another in 1897. The reports of Dawson, who was in the country about 1887, make a passing reference to witchcraft among the Tahltan. Therefore it seems reasonable from all available evidence, including informants' data, to ascribe the introduction of witch-fear in Kaska territory to the closing years of the nineteenth century.

At this period other occurrences probably had an influence in conditioning the acceptance of such beliefs. Kaska culture was undergoing a period of drastic change. The adaption of the Indians was being severely tested by the influx of people who by their numbers were probably dispersing the game on which the Indians depended in large measure for survival. Never comfortable with strangers, the people were now being exposed to all manner of contacts, some of which were certainly not courteous and considerate.[17] In addition must be considered the Indians' exposure to introduced illnesses, which were taking a heavy toll of life. Even today the people blame the white man for the origin of tuberculosis and colds. The study of the influence of these historical changes on the adoption of beliefs in witchcraft is part of the psychological problem to which attention will now be directed.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA. II, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND STRUCTURAL

154 182 A study of the psychological functions of Kaska witch-fear must answer several related questions. In the first place why, if as is known, the Kaska as well as the Tahltan had a knowledge of and contact with the Tlingit going back to aboriginal times, was the belief in witchcraft not accepted long before? Here again historical factors must be examined before any psychological explanation need be attempted. The superimposition of witchcraft belief on patterns of shamanism among the Tlingit suggests that those people had themselves only developed attitudes of witchcraft relatively recently. Furthermore *intense* contact with Tlingit society probably did not occur for the Kaska until the close of the nineteenth century when interaction with the Tahltan probably also occurred on a friendly rather than, as had previously been the rule, on a hostile basis. The question therefore becomes limited to the predisposing conditions which influenced the acceptance of a belief in witchcraft in relatively modern times. It may now be asked, what problems did a belief in witchcraft satisfy in Kaska society at the time of its acceptance and what were the functions of this belief?

[17] For a picture of the type of men who went on the Klondike trail see Dennis, 1898, p. 453; also Stratford, 1912.

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Without attempting to formulate a complete theory of witchcraft, it may be pointed out that a belief in the potential malevolence of other people, while not always socially disintegrating, always suggests a sense of insecurity governing interpersonal relations. Such a theory is primarily deductive and is derived from previous anthropological investigations of witchcraft, clinical psychology, and psychoanalysis.[39] Its validity for the present problem will depend entirely on its ability to explain the facts of Kaska witch-fear. The components of psychological insecurity derive from states of anxiety which can be divided into two types, first, primary anxiety that is a product of some early traumatic situations of childhood and is retained throughout life and, second, situational anxiety which is derived from contemporary situations that frustrate the individual's feeling of safety in his environment. The two types of anxiety are closely related and it seems likely that any considerable degree of primary anxiety will create a low threshold for situational anxiety. The accumulated total insecurity will in turn seek release through impulses of aggression or hostility of which witch-fear is a projection.[39]

In order to ascertain the nature of the anxieties likely to occur in Kaska individuals, reference must be made to Kaska personality as it was studied during the period of field work, 1944–45. The validity of this method may be briefly demonstrated. The basic outlines of personality, it is now generally agreed, are established in childhood, specifically in those social situations in which the child derives characteristic attitudes toward the world and himself from his relationship with adult members of the family and other members of his society. Since the patterns governing these primary situations change slowly (no evidence could be obtained of any major change in socialization patterns in the past few decades), it seems safe to assume that basically Kaska personality was not radically different twenty-five or even fifty years ago from what it is today.

From an analysis of Kaska culture it is possible to prove, first, the existence of personality factors which provide a considerable degree of readiness to react with situational anxiety and, second, to isolate certain historical conditions which, by arousing strong situational anxiety, were predisposing to the acceptance of witchcraft beliefs as defined above. To phrase the second point somewhat differently, observations of Kaska behavior enable the prediction that certain specific circumstances will almost certainly arouse anxiety in the Kaska Indian. Such circumstances include any situation requiring an assertive

[38] Although among the Navaho Kluckhohn believes the euphoric effects of witchcraft to outweigh the dysphoric, he sees a function of witchcraft to be "the objectification and alleviation of displaced anxieties arising from the general situation of the Navaho or from the special situation of a particular Navaho at a particular time." (Kluckhohn, 1944, pp. 40, 50.)

[39] It is impossible to document the sources for this theory which borrows freely from many writers. The interested reader will quickly recognize the influence of Horney, Levy, Dollard, Kardiner, Maslow, and others.

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approach to problems of adaptation to which traditional solutions cannot be readily applied.

A basic anxiety conditioning relatively low resistance to traumatic situations develops primarily from the relationship of the Kaska mother to her child. In the first two years of life the infant receives extremely favorable treatment. The mother responds readily to the baby's discomforts; crying is quickly rewarded, while affection and attention are consistently displayed. Between two and three years of age the mother's behavior undergoes a change. Whether or not another baby is born, the mother becomes emotionally more remote and self-occupied and her relationship to the child becomes one that is best described as emotional rejection. Crying is scolded, and demands for affection to which the child has become accustomed are ignored. It is not unusual to see four- and five-year-old children who have been hurt crying by themselves rather than seeking emotional comfort from a parent or other adult. Thus from a period of affectional demonstrativeness the Kaska mother returns to the pattern of emotional aloofness that is characteristic of most interpersonal relationships within the society. This hiatus in development sets up a number of dynamics in the child's personality but the only one with which we are concerned is a deep-seated anxiety and feeling of insecurity toward the world, leading to an ambivalent attitude toward all intense emotional relationships.[56] This basic anxiety remains with the individual throughout life and is responsible for the inadequate strength of the Kaska ego when confronted by crises.

At the time of the witch-fear outbreaks the Kaska found their survival imperiled. This threat came from several sources which have already been mentioned; the influx of strangers had upset the balance of game, new illnesses were introduced, and an adequate standard of living was coming to depend heavily upon the intensive trapping of skins to exchange for the white man's foodstuffs. All of these changes presented problems of existence for which traditional solutions were inadequate. Hunting required additional effort and was accompanied by more uncertainty than ever before while the belief in the efficacy of charms, songs for luck, and other hunting ceremonials had disappeared; illness, for which the Kaska were never well equipped, was increasing while native therapeutics, notably the belief in shamanism, had already broken down. Trapping required degrees of foresight, initiative, effort, and long-range planning for which the Indians were (and still are) psychologically unprepared. On the other hand, the rewards of trapping, the most important of which was an adequate supply of food that would reduce the necessity of hunting, were unattainable so long as this ability was not efficiently

[56] These conclusions are well demonstrated in the Rorschach situation in which the Kaska subject displays an intense fear of the close interpersonal relationship that administration of the test presents to him, a pronounced reluctance to respond to internal and external emotional stimuli (color shock), few movement responses, and deep-seated primary anxiety (shading shock).

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managed. For an assertive and basically confident people these problems would perhaps not have been too catastrophic. Kaska resourcefulness, however, is limited to relatively familiar situations or those which do not require a prodigious expenditure of energy and too severe a disruption of normal routines. In novel critical situations the Indian reveals a tendency to passivity and procrastination. These behaviors, totally inadequate as defenses in the acculturation situation, simply aggravated adaptive crises when they were applied to hunting, illness, and trapping. The inevitable result was the arousal of secondary frustration and anxiety.

It was this anxiety, leading to interpersonal difficulties and hostility (which the Kaska are unable to express directly) which was the condition predisposing the society to a favorable reception of witch-fear. Sickness, always a conflict situation for a people dependent on mobility to survive, was the area in which the introduced pattern became readily integrated. Witch-fear solved the emotional problems of frustration and anxiety by offering a channel for the discharge of their derived hostility.

Although this was the general predisposing condition facilitating the reception of witchcraft, certain structural congruities to witchcraft must not be overlooked.[21] Without an awareness of the possibility of effecting malevolence sympathetically or contagiously, such as existed in the former belief in sorcery, witchcraft would have had greater difficulty in taking hold. Torture also had a place in the aboriginal way of life, enemy captives taken in intertribal warfare having been even more callously treated than were suspected witches. Finally the social structure of the group must be regarded as having been functionally related to the introduced attitudes by making it possible for suspicion and fear to exist between even proximate relatives and neighbors.

Kaska society has always been marked by extreme atomism with a minimum of social identification extending beyond the family. Even within the family authority was weak but deference highly emphasized. Cooperation was rare and always on an individualistic and voluntary basis. The largest and best definable unit of social structure beyond the family was the mobile band having the nuclear family as the center around which were grouped grandparents, sons-in-law and, occasionally, other relatives. Such bands were sociologically cemented by the emotional bonds of primary kinship relations. Beyond these bonds affinal kinship, personal friendship, congeniality, and common membership in an exogamous moiety[22] operated to maintain social relations, but such

[21] We here use "structural" in somewhat the same sense that Kluckhohn has spoken of "structural analysis" as "an investigation of 'functional dependencies' " or "the interrelation of parts" of a culture, but excluding those psychological factors which are commonly referred to "personality." This is functionalism in Radcliffe-Brown's rather than Malinowski's sense of the term. (Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 45; Radcliffe-Brown, 1946.)

[22] Dual organization did not extend to the eastern Nelson Indians and probably not to the Kaska-tena.

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CONCLUSION

Much has been written about the Northern Athapaskans' supposed predilection to borrow from the cultures of their neighbors. Some of the instances cited of such alleged transmissions can now be demonstrated to rest on an incorrect interpretation of what meager evidence was available when these accounts were written, although the adaptability of a people like the Kaska remains a well-defined characteristic. With regard to witch-fear, it is believed that the aboriginal absence and relatively late introduction of the behavior in question have been adequately demonstrated historically. Witch-fear seems to have originally developed among the Pacific Coast Tlingit and from there made its way to certain inland Athapaskan tribes, including the Kaska. In the case of the Kaska, this transmission probably utilized the Tahltan as middlemen.

The Kaska did not receive witch-fear without being prepared for this behavior. Witch-fear functioned to relieve the anxiety and derived hostility generated in a basically anxious personality by conditions of acculturation, and was possible in a society that lacked strong organization beyond primary kinship ties. Witch-fear may be diagnosed as a reaction to social stress and is therefore comparable to other reactions manifested by societies following devastating effects of acculturation.

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